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The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

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who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

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[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

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A E 175 648 migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

E A 628 175 648 The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

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the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* 2: 57-58.

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439 556 in lieu of the death penalty[21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

[583] A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use
423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to
outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be
226 compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota*
[685] *Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district.
> [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them
> [685] was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> 224 There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [175] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basko* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over
[671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo."[24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Eso Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in
423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in
226 reality an *Isōtaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid
[224] description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

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[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

423 hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring
226 bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in
[224] Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki
Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki*
[*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance
of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing
in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo
[476] make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band
and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro
area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing
ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the
lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

476 This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization
as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu*
[Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A
country was like a district, a district like a village, a
family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated
and they distributed to those unable to work."
In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> 476 There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they
> 183 built their own houses, cutting down available trees and
> grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes,
> [426] they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth
> [341] which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It
> has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation
> [291] but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after
> the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the
> [261] poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed
> alone. They dined together and shared what they had
> [264] to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very
> little food it was given to the old or to the children. For
> [858] the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one
> to look after them food was carried to them at each meal.
> [888] Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from
> fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat
> as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter
> [276] how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a
> smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After
> [273] one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine
> was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of
226 the villages went out to fish during the salmon season
224 and distributed their catch among all and when someone
431 killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a
long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting
him with homemade millet cakes, would be
given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed
was cooked and the people went to the home of the
[602] hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the
portion of meat given might differ according to the

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[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript oi talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 224 431 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

[602] 423 226 224 The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not violate his rights.[31] 423 [476] 241 In agriculture there seems to have been no cooperation among members of a family. Title to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

462 It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood. to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 463 Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached [888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

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*648 the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as
*175 being told,

> 439 Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are
> 661 obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sôya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

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> [436] During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

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*648 3. Originally the *Chigyônushi* traded only with the
*175 Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in
● 226 hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow
439 for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo
661 had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege,
[423] they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

> Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.

[18] *Ibid.*, 173.

[19] *Ibid.*, 174.

[20] *"Ainoma,"* the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. *"Kennichi,"* the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishô Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).

[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

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*648 Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they
*175 were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki
●226 Tadaemon:

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> As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

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Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24] When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

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Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

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[22] *Ibid.*, 173.

[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.

[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.

[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.

[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Isso* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.

[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyū Zakki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

A F *175 *648 439 The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the income from *Unjōkin* alone in the year 1804 reached approximately 7,000 ryō.[9] This growth in profits was partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and partly to their capital development of new markets which till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but it was mostly due to the introduction of new merchandise, the improvement in the system of production, and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.[10] The market expanded and not only did those already in existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-Kyotō] regions increase but this trade reached into Edo[11] itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.[12] With this growth of the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when the restrictions which permitted only small corded vessels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade, the quantity of goods in trade rose.[13] However, there was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*, especially when the same old methods were continued, and the contractors naturally sought new markets and new methods.

The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident, this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade of the seventeenth century it was generally held that Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu, then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was established in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in the Kuriles.[14] F [226] On the west coast, 1772 saw the exploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu, in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set up by Murayama Denbei.[15] The contractor Hidaya Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

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1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu.*

[8] *Unjō* payments.

[9] *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the income of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257–258.

[11] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi no shōhin ni tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area), *Shiro Issen*, No. 49.

[12] Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyo no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

[13] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

[14] *Ibid.*, 125.

A F [177] [226] [15] "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard houses were established." *Murayama Denbei Rireki* (Personal records of Murayama Denbei).

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vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

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Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse." [19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

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The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

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[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

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[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa*.

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[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM*

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chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

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The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading [28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

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[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

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[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki*.

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

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*175 trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as
*648 fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil
cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark
251 color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors
made these into dried white sea ear shell for
177 export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing
439 tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements
in technique required large capital. The
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F simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves
*175 or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch.
But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond
*648 the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established
[412] shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used
Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors
464 expanded the area of their activities, they operated the
new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor.
439 The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably
A accelerated by two factors, the new market in the
F Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets.
*175 Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship
between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto
*648 the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors
439 and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above
A what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a
[426] small scale trade which could only be surmounted by
such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that
when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own
A produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

F On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements
*175 and regulations, made it possible greatly to
*648 increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in
the Sôya area is an example of the advanced regulation
177 of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in
441 bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post
with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake,
● 226 yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they
[429] would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with
sea cucumber they would return to the post where
clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent
pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered.
A After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch
home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or
[251] out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken
back to the post. There Ezo women worked under
A foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and
packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used
F to load the boats.[33]

*175 The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was
[452] not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No
longer were the chiefs men of character but merely
*648 supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could
177 not be much improved by the use of nets but large
226 scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated
439 by the contractors themselves who were no longer

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[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

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needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

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This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu"* but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

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* *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

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since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

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After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

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The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

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[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The
disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through
their selected representatives, lasting for days on end
sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question
as to which side had won would be decided by the
vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences
were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times
resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also
determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed.
This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully
by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful
seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these
as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to
the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal
hunting domains, thus making certain territories their
own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

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755 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died [115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

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778 The young man who gave me much of the fetish lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

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*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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A FISHERMAN'S CLUSTER OF FETISHES

[p.296(A)]

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first 262
worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with 782
due ceremony, and had libations of *saké* offered them 778
and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the 778
shavings left attached and depending from the top, and 226
lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a sea- 226
side place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

● 226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 782 The next morning we went out and soon found that the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 [778] 527 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and row-lock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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A FISHERMAN IN HIS SEA-GOING FISHING-BOAT

[p.298(A)]

—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come 226
again at some future date. The fishermen were all 527
drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so
that we had once more to postpone our lantern show.

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we 226
should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all
had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went
round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early
as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again
doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way.
There was one boat which could not get in with the
others the night before, and the men were more than
twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious
about them, and we all went to the shore time after
time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the
custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an
hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat
arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept
under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared [776]
as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with
the devil.

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very 539
woebegone attitude. They said that they had been 226
out with the other boats but were farther off in the 776
ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish,
when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite
close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and
was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from
below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most
desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his
arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape
and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark
fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat,
and the air around became very malodorous."

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus,
but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself."
"There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

226 776 [539] a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible." And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226 476 There is just one more word I would like to write about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226 776 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

the elder, and the other "Peace-Uncle," the younger. 226
The elder brother is supposed to be of a very evil dis- 776
position, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother, who is benevolent and quiet and desires to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race. He comes and settles down in a place and brings quiet winds and good weather with him. Then it is that the fishermen launch their boats and go fishing. The elder brother is just the opposite. He desires to do all the harm he can, and so comes and chases his brother away. He causes the shipwrecks, so many of the fetishes seen upon the sea-shore are set there for him, by way of propitiation. Such is one Ainu version.

By some other Ainu the names "Wild" and "Peace Uncle" apply to the same being. In bodily shape he is like a very big whale. The legend concerning him is as follows:

"Once upon a time two men were out at sea fishing, 539
when they were suddenly overtaken by a severe storm. 226
As their boat was being swamped, they gave themselves to earnest prayer. Every known god and demon of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. By and by a very large whale, a whale as big as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water and come gradually to the side of the boat and shelter it from the wind and waves. This was no other than he who is sometimes called 'Wild Uncle' and sometimes 'Peace Uncle.' He was known before that time indeed, but ever since this happened he has been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu, who also present him with fetishes."

When I was getting the information about the swordfish, the fight with the devil, and the wonderful deliverance vouchsafed by the whale, as mentioned above, the man gave me some information about divers and pikes. He told me that pikes came originally from

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226 the scales of a snake, and divers from the entrails of a pike. What he said was this:—

773 "The scales of a snake formed themselves into pikes and this is a true account of their origin. As both gods and men detected a snaky flavour when they first tasted the pikes, they refused to eat any more, so a god came along, who killed some of them, and said, 'How is this? You are not at all good fish, for you can not be eaten.' He then tore their stomachs open and threw the entrails away. But, as it was impossible that the entrails should come to nothing, they turned themselves into divers. Then the gods took some pikes and boiled them and found them to be of a very nice flavour. Ever since that time both gods and men have eaten of the pike kind." It may be added here that, according to my informant's ideas, the pike family is very closely related to the trout and includes it.

But to return to the swordfish. A friend told me the following remarkable story about them:

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226 "One day two gentlemen went out together to spear swordfish, and at length managed to harpoon a very large one. He was so lively and strong that he dragged the boat from one end of the ocean to the other. They tried hard to hold on to him, till one of the men fainted and was dragged overboard and drowned. The other one hung on to him, however, so that big blisters came up on his hands. He then cursed the fish and said, 'O thou wicked swordfish, I will now cut the line which holds thee. As the harpoon head is made of iron, thou shalt suffer much from the noise of clinking iron and grating bones within thee. As the line is of hemp, a plain of hemp shall grow out of thee. As the rope is of linden bark, a forest of linden trees shall grow on thy back, and when thou diest thou shalt become an island.' And so it all happened. The island was made and birds and animals came to in-

habit it." Thus we have another illustration as to how worlds were brought forth.

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Many of the people would not, I found, eat eels, and when I inquired the reason I was told it was because they were so much like snakes. The tale was this:

"In ancient times, when the divine Aeoina was upon this earth, fish were so numerous in the rivers that the people were able to catch more than enough to live on. But the bears multiplied so greatly that they came down from the mountains and killed the salmon so fast that they became very scarce indeed. It was so bad that the people stood in danger of being starved out. Then men were very angry at this state of things, and came and accused the bears before Aeoina. Upon hearing of the trouble, the Divine One smiled benevolently and said, 'Fish were made by God and placed in the rivers in the beginning for men and animals to eat. But the bears are taking too many. What then shall be done to help you and keep those animals from killing the fish off? I will look into the matter.'

"He then returned to his house and twisted straw and grass into wisps which he caused to become eels. These he placed in the rivers. When bears next came down from the hills to catch fish they saw these long creatures creeping about. This astonished them and put fear into their hearts, so that they ran away again and let the fish alone. The people were then once more able to catch fish and eat."

823 776 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer, some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-notoran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a [825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such [226 782] things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fishermen do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

823 776 825 226 782 Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the common in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an offering to the demon of rough weather, whose property he is supposed to be. We once had a young man staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were sur- 823
prised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. 776
It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they
saw this they began to fear. After a time the father 825
declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A 226
misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. 782
Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

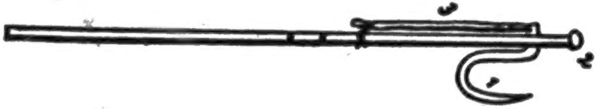
When one party of fishermen desire to bring down 754
evil upon another enemy party, who may have given 226
offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ances- 823
tor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He 776
is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, 226
fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The 262
general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, [137]
which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook [227]
and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.



[227]

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast 226
in the north was extremely interesting when trained 231
dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

[p.399]

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men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which [178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

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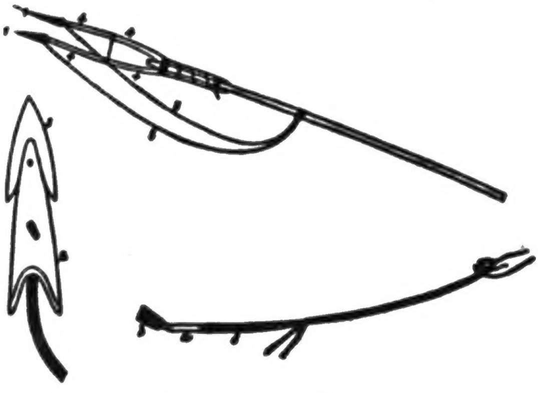
The people used to make a kind of fish trap they called an *urai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wickerwork. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrowhead, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

at will, was fitted into it, while over the top was a 226
platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar 227
of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the door-posts for its reception, while the bottom part, to which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed of the river. As soon as a fish was known to have entered the net, the man upon the platform drew the lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-work traps were baited and placed along the streams for the smaller fry.

The fisherman always had a thick stick of willow by his side, which was called "head-striking-stick," and with this he killed his catch. He did so by knocking it on its head. Penri told me that these fish liked being struck on the head and thus killed. It was the [825]
universal orthodox way of "sending the divine creature away." Having been thus "sent off" to their ancestors and their flesh having been disposed of, they would return later to be caught and killed again.

The handle of a spear used to catch pike is about eight or nine feet long, and when fitted up, ready for use, it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from



SPEAR FOR TAKING FISH

226 227 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would sometimes follow and so be caught.

778 782 226 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 251 262 During their season large numbers of salmon used to be taken. Some of them were carried into the houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

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mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 267

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

539 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people
226 of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to
him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

136 (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inumbe-ibe* and
252 it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu
262 name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is
eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, having nothing more to eat and being very hungry, I came here today at a venture and have taken this. Is it a real fish, I wonder, or is it a demon playing a trick on me? Is it a god who has transformed himself into this fish who has ordered me to draw him out of the water and kill and eat him? If it be a god, is he a good one, I wonder, or one of the evil divinities? I must have a care.'

"Thinking so and supposing that in all probability it was an evil one, he took out his dagger—a dagger which had a hilt inlaid with bone—and began to cut him up fine. Then the fish once more said: 'O sir, cut me up quickly, squeeze me hard and fast. Eat me up quickly, begin at once.' So he hastened and cut him up very fine. When he had finished cutting him up, he cast the pieces to the trees of the forest, to the birds of the air, and to the undergrowth. He then went home.

"During the night he slept well but had a dream, which was as follows. One said to him, 'Sir, until now there have been plenty of fish on thy estate. But this year not so much as one has come up. This is not, however, because thou hast been wicked. I am the famine god and have brought about this condition of things simply to please myself. I have made it so that not even one fish has entered thy waters. It was done to try thee. When thou wentest to thy lake yesterday to angle, thou didst not go of thine own accord. It was I who caused thee to go. When thou wentest and didst angle, thou wast able to take nothing. But when I saw thee about to give up and return to thy house, I allowed myself to be caught. I am not a real fish but the demon of famine. Wishing to try thy understanding, I purposely transformed myself into a fish and allowed myself to be hauled in by thee. If thou hadst shown thyself to be a man of no understanding and hadst partaken of my flesh, thou wouldest have died. But as thy guardian angel was a mighty one, he caused thee to

539 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy
226 me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow, when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

[556
778] "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and has made me dream that dream. He told me to make and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so, and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and every season had in his waters a superabundance of fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the people again went to him and purchased it, carrying many precious things and swords in exchange. They paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman became the most wealthy man in the whole country and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he became an exceedingly famous person."

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the form of hard lumps. Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

224

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

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Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

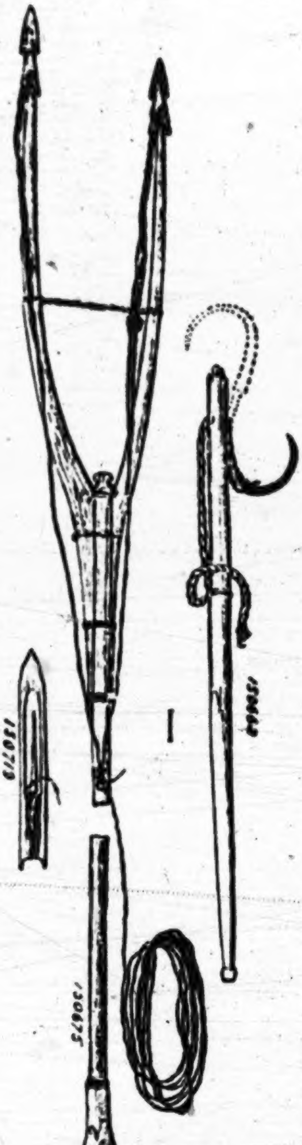

Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

> They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. 226 Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along under the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready for a dart at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, even more so than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen flying over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral.

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

> On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This 225 two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large 226 fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes.

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone 226 and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of [283] the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage [248] the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, [237] or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose.

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Tsaikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches	11
Width of middle	do	28
Length, about	feet	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are 776 invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house [778 for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against [297 enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

133 who accompanied us said we should soon see them coming back again. We were not far from the river banks when shouts and cries of excitement reached my ears. I hurried on to the water-side and saw the two "dug-outs" swiftly coming down with the strong current, parallel with each other at a
501 distance of about seven feet apart. There were three people
226 in each "dug-out," viz., a woman with a paddle steering at the prow; another woman crouched up at the stern, and a man in the middle. A coarse net made of young vines, and about five feet square, was fastened to two poles seven or eight feet long. The man who stood in the centre of each canoe held one of the poles, to the upper end of which the net was attached, and attentively watched the water.

226 "They are catching salmon—look!" said Unacharo to me; "the salmon are coming up the stream from the sea." The small net was plunged into the water between the two canoes, and nearly each time a large salmon was scooped out and flung into one or other of the "dug-outs," where the woman sitting at the stern crushed its head with a large stone. If a fish escaped, yells of indignation, especially from the women folk, broke out from the boats, to be echoed by the high white
[241] cliff. Both men and women were naked, and the dexterity and speed with which they paddled their canoes down the stream, working the coarse net at the same time, seldom missing a fish, was simply marvellous. On the other hand, it must be remembered that fish were so plentiful in the river, that it was really easier to catch than to miss. In wading the Shikarubets (river) I could see large salmon passing me by the dozen, and I felt quite uncomfortable when some large fish either rubbed itself against or passed between my legs. We got across the Shorui-washi—literally "very burning a place to stand"—and having then gone far enough from the Shikarubets Otchirsh to see the whole of it, I managed to take
133 a good sketch of it. Near this river are some hot springs, called Nishibets, from which the river has taken its peculiar name. The easiest way to the Otopke Mountain is to follow the valley between the Shikarubets and the Otopke River, and then climb the mountain on the north-east side. The latter part of the journey is extremely rough and difficult. Watanabe

131 The Kuriles are the islands which stretch like a row of beads from the most north-easterly coast of Yezo to the most southerly point of Kamschatka. They extend from 145° to 158° longitude east of Greenwich, and between 42° and 51° latitude north.

000 The archipelago forms part of the Japanese Empire, having been exchanged by Russia not many years ago for the southern half of Saghalien Island, then belonging to Japan. This group of islands is characterised mainly by the great extent of its volcanic rocks and tertiaries, showing marked evidence that it is only a continuation of the volcanic mountain-range forming the backbone of Yezo, and extending from Yubaridake, in the upper Ishikari province, to Cape Shiretoko; which volcanic region embraces a large portion of the Tokachi, Kitami, and Nemuro provinces. In this chain of islands there are many beautiful volcanic cones, especially in Kunashiri and Etorofu. 135 Iron, copper, and other metal veins are found in small quantities in tuffs and andesites, but more important here, moreover, are the large sulphur accumulations near and in craters, both extinct and active; as on Mount Rahush, in Kunashiri, and the Ichibishinai, in Etorofu, the largest island of the Kuriles. At Pontoo, in Kunashiri, sulphur bubbles out from the bottom of a volcanic lake, which is probably an extinct crater.

● 226 Beside being rich in minerals, the larger islands of the Kuriles abound in game; but fishing is the main industry practised by the sparse population of these rugged regions. 000 The origin of the word "Kuriles" is not certain, but in all probability it is from the Russian *kuril*, smoke, as there are many active volcanoes in the islands. The more poetical Japanese call them *Chishima*, or the "Thousand Islands," meaning that they are numberless, and the *nonchalant* Ainu of Yezo profess entire ignorance as to their existence, and [823] only some of the better informed give them the name of *Krafto*, by which they really mean Sakhalin. The hairy people are emphatically poor geographers, and have but little faculty for locating islands or any other places. In fact, how could they, having no maps, and no idea even of what a map is? The Chishima group and the island of Yezo, with all the smaller islands along and near its coast, when taken

000 above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more
361 than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the
354 light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some
000 fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

361 Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether
177 adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in
● 226 it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the
SAME EXTENT AS ON THE SOUTH-EAST COAST.

this deserted shore. Ten miles further on, at Chukbets, I 050
found a couple of huts; then I walked and dragged the pony on the cliffs for about four miles; then again I resorted to the beach; and finally I entered Hamboro, a small village, or rather a picturesque group of sheds and huts, and a capital fishing-station. *Shake*, salmon, *mashe*, and herrings are caught [226]
in abundance at the mouth of this river. A short distance from here hundreds of carcasses of seals were scattered on the beach, whence emanated pestilential odours. On account of the slowness of my pony I had to-night a modified repetition of last night's experience, but neither was the sea so rough nor the trail so narrow at the bottom of the cliffs; and though my wretched animal was naturally in a worse condition than before, I was able to push on to Tomamai that same night, where I arrived at a small hour of the morning.

At Tomamai, the coast, which had described a long curve, the two ends of which are Ikuru north and this point south, turns sharply in a southerly direction, running straight for many miles from north to south.

From Tomamai southwards the coast is not quite as deserted as it was further north, for here and there are villages of fishermen's houses. The population, however, is a migratory one, and when I went through, the herring-fishing season was over, and consequently most of the houses were abandoned and the people had migrated south. The winter weather is very severe, and the houses have to be barricaded with thick piles of wood as a protection against the strong westerly gales. The boats had been drawn far on shore, where they were well fastened to posts, and rough sheds thatched with grass built over them.

Along the coast there was a string of these habitations, hut after hut, storehouse after storehouse, but hardly a soul to be seen. It was like going through the city of the dead. Many of the fishermen's huts were built on the side of the rugged cliffs, and they stood on piles about fifteen feet high, the back of the house resting on the cliff itself. Twelve and a half miles further another row of houses, similarly deserted for the winter, stood along the shore-line at Onishika. In this part of the coast salmon are very scarce, and the chief industry is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

080 "No, your honourable," said he, drawing in his breath.

"You did not look for it in the right place," said I, and up to this day the landlord does not know where the right place was.

● 896 The Ishikari is one of the great salmon rivers of Yezo. About the end of September the salmon enter the river to spawn. They are in such abundance then that the stream is crowded thick with them, and it is quite sufficient to have a hook fastened to a stick to pull out a large fish each time it is dipped into the water. Millions of fine salmon are caught within a few days, and the banks of the river are packed with dead fish, while the whole population is occupied in splitting open each fish, taking out its inside, for preservation.

The same method of netting as is practised for sardine fishing is employed for salmon. Eighteen or twenty excited men vigorously row the boats out into mid-stream, and after describing a semicircle, return to the bank. The nets are hauled in, the fish flung out on the river banks, and the same process begins *de novo*. A man in a "dug-out" watches when the salmon are more or less plentiful, and signals for the boat to start, while he himself spears them with a harpoon. At the right time of the year as many as 1500 or 2,000 and more good fish are caught each time the net is hauled in. This grand take of course only lasts a few days.

Though good, the Yezo salmon has none of the fine qualities of the salmon of northern European rivers, and it is not quite so good as that of the Canadian rivers. It does not keep so well, and in colour is much lighter than our salmon.

133 The Ishikari River opens to the north, and runs parallel to the coast, leaving a flat tongue of sand between it and the sea. Following the course of the stream against the current, it goes winding south, then sharply turns to the south-east, following this direction for about fourteen miles. Then again it winds up to the north, and then to the east for a distance of over one hundred miles, where its source lies in the very heart of Yezo.

The Ishikari carries a large body of water, and it is nine hundred and twenty feet wide near its mouth. Its "drainage area" has been estimated to be over three thousand square miles, including mountain slopes, while the actual valley does

the pain was not nearly as acute as it had been the first fifteen 080
or twenty days.

As the road was good, and there was nothing interesting to me on this portion of the journey, I tried to push on rapidly towards Mori. Unfortunately, at the last minute my patience was put to a trial. I hired a horse, and it was lame. No others were to be had that day for love or money. The animal had been lame for two years, they said, and though uncomfortable to ride he did not suffer any pain. This I ascertained afterwards was true, for that day the sturdy brute carried me 48½ miles without once requiring punishment. It is needless to say that what I suffered that day by the continuous jerking is beyond description. I rode fourteen hours in a fearful storm of rain and snow, and my feverish anxiety to reach Hakodate soon, so that I might receive letters, and have news of my parents and friends—from whom I had not heard for five months—helped me to pull through all the fatigue and worry of the way. The road between Oshamambe and Kunnui is fair, getting still better towards Yurap and Yamakushinai. But to shorten the journey and lessen the jerking I followed the sandy sea-beach, which, describing a smaller circle than the road, necessarily diminishes the distance. From Yamakushinai the road is very good and wide, and it has nicely-built bridges over the Otoshibe and Nigori Rivers. The small fishing villages, though not so imposing in appearance as some of those in other parts of Yezo, add to the picturesqueness of the bay, with its beautiful volcanic cone of Komagatage towering in the distance towards the south-east.

The fishing in Volcano Bay consists mostly of mackerel, [226]
sprats, halibut, and herrings.

I reached Mori late in the evening, and was received with a friendly greeting by the people of the tea-house in which I had stayed on my way up at the beginning of my journey.

The place was brilliantly lighted with numberless candles, and opposite the entrance was a kind of altar decked with flowers and cakes. A few *bonzes*, with their shaven heads and long, thin, depraved fingers, were saying their prayers and beating with a small wand on the round wooden bells. With the gods of Japan you must ring a bell or clap your hands before you begin to pray, or else the god will pay no attention

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771 remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 [594] [162] 361 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 423 [184] A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

● 226 796 621 [774] Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 825 796 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 175 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

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[613] [622] [114] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was incensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 [224] [226] [231] [412]

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[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789
224 BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing
●226 were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection
and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and
[782] the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui
and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing
[825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one
of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*,
often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter
invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*).
[774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust
in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them
temporarily.

411 The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody
789 considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a
774 libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a
224 means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under
[422] the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick
[211] was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally
stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to
the quiver.

825 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as
782 distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide
224 meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to
save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784
263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

● 226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

226

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or 782
ikema) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the 789
prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed [784]
while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case
an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal [192]
attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam katkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated
with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge [262]
fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak 396
openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in 789
choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving 782
home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a [778]
slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

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[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

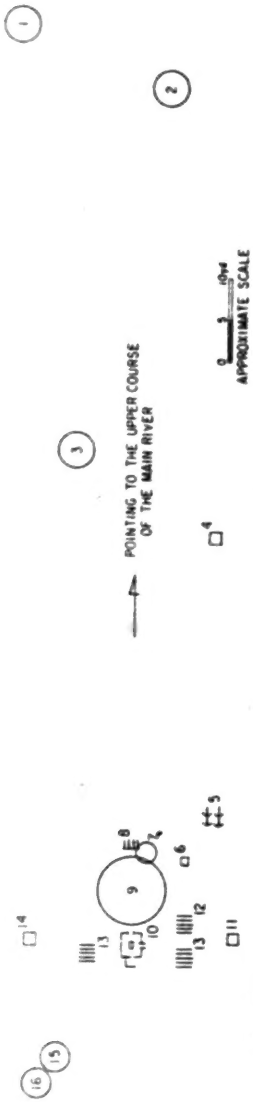

Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The 621 [226] → people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations 592 364 ← of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60-62). The *kotan* 621 476 → is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not al- 621 → ways constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[1]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kotan* group. The unity 621 421 622 → and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant
cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note
10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated
in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up
of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all
male househeads and even housewives of the local group came to help the
family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole
could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology
did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group.
In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43).
Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter
(pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which
the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*;
aneram ushinnu kuru, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*;
kotan (or *utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru*
kuru, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be
the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was
also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions.
He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group
but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises
organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted
to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on
the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by
HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the
so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items
as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such important
121 items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[26]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong
so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught
from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into
two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger
fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu*
● 226 (or *ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank
or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b).
Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they 226 •
usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began 349
to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was
a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the
period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued
their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken
by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each
family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually
the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they [592]
erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change [423]
in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of [132]
thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred
annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary
built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared
dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical 227
in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known 226
to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great
variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at
one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped
wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the
direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream.
In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the
mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens 226
of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams.
In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at
their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed
in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements
were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid
streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down
circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as
the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used [462]
by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male
members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon 226
was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to 227
the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek*
by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local
group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

● 226 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest
227 and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the
[476] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was
generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively.
It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working
[462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women
and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki-ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a
[592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same
[824] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used
[476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family
participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom
from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the
catch was shared by all the member families.

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties. 227 226 [462]

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it [184] was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families posses- [476] sing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it.

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some 226 227 505 groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream [184] on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*,

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male
and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.
227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line
across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chāma ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[542] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for
instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accord-
ingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.
221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu
household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity.
Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might
be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [136]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*,
Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were
speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54).
With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622]
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary
of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon
related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the
river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch ascend- 512
ing shoals, those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader water-courses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from
a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1, [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the
salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root.
Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a
great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in
search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using
the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the
mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing
in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary
of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its
upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different
from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was
practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a
glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to
stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary.
The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in
the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut
towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The
hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon,
Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though
strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in
different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived
immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence
and daily life of the Ainu[27].

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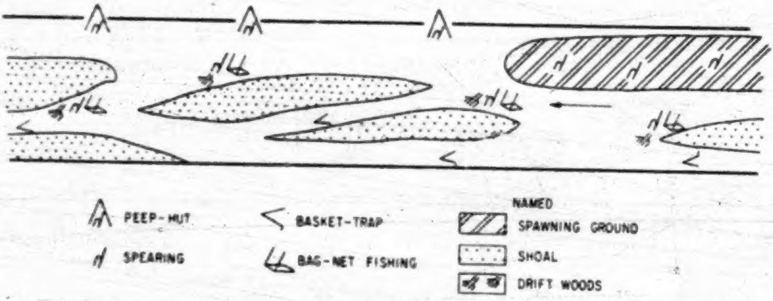

Fig. 3. Diagram representing the distribution of dog-salmon fishing sites.

Dog salmon migrate and ascend rivers in large shoals in order to spawn. Various conditions restrict their spawning sites, in search of which dog salmon come gathering in specific areas. As a result, the relationship between the Ainu and the fish grew up and was maintained with these spawning grounds as centre. The spawning habits of the dog salmon[28], e. g. the parent [182] salmon standing by their spawning bed while in breeding, their spawning in comparatively shallow water, and almost regular recurrence yearly of spawning grounds at the same places, may be regarded as limiting factors in the group ecology of the Ainu in regard to salmon fishing.

At least on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke as well as on the Azuma, 226 the Ainu fished the salmon during the period from around October to Decem- 221 ber[29] (p. 53). Each local group began its salmon fishing with the arrival of the fish near its own settlement. The methods and the sites of fishing changed as the season wore away (Figs. 3 and 4). Observance of a ritual before the first run marked the beginning of all Ainu dog-salmon fishing (p. 72). Meanwhile, there came an interval between the first run in the area about the settlement or settlements of each local group and the first spawning in the spawning grounds near their settlement. For example, about Kuttarashi and Nitmap on the uppermost Tokapchi there were scattered spawnings 3 or 4 days after the first run; near Naitai settlement on the uppermost Otopuke spawnings occurred sporadically 4 or 5 days after the first run. It is ichthyologically known that the spawning of the dog salmon, like that of the cherry salmon, occurs gradually from the upper down to the lower reaches in the same river course (Note 28). For instance, it usually began about 2 days later about Kumaushi settlement than at Nitmap which lies directly above it; at Sanenkoro settlement 3 or 4 days later than at Kumaushi which lies above it (Map 2 and p. 61). The result was that the lower the settlement the longer the period of runs with no spawning. During this period Ainu males speared fish with the *marek* at peep-huts set up on the running course.

226 221 512 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish resumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more important part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. [562] In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the earlier runs. [184] The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish. [462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid[1] in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.

226 221 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,

[1] [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

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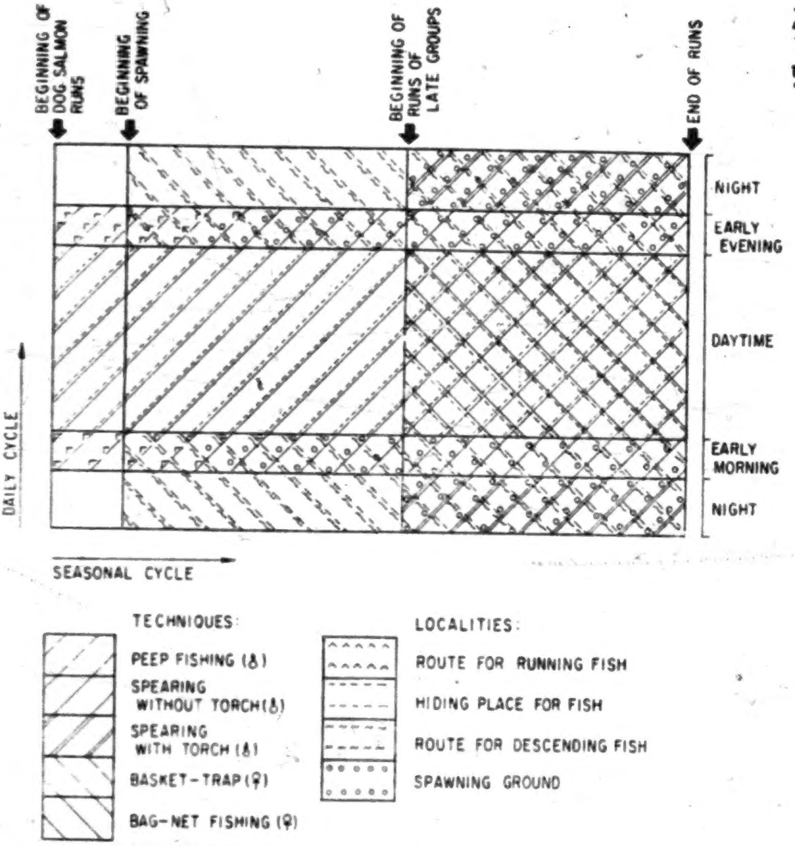
BEGINNING OF DOG SALMON RUNS
BEGINNING OF SPAWNING
BEGINNING OF RUNS OF LATE GROUPS
END OF RUNS
NIGHT
EARLY EVENING
DAYTIME
EARLY MORNING
NIGHT
DAILY CYCLE
SEASONAL CYCLE
TECHNIQUES:
PEEP FISHING (♂)
SPEARING WITHOUT TORCH (♂)
SPEARING WITH TORCH (♂)
BASKET-TRAP (♀)
BAG-NET FISHING (♀)
LOCALITIES:
ROUTE FOR RUNNING FISH
HIDING PLACE FOR FISH
ROUTE FOR DESCENDING FISH
SPAWNING GROUND

Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
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226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus
the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its
spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu
information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds
[621] in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements,
and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest
to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and
the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft
[278] for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow,
set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their
use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
kuari ushi, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches
of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed,
chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river
for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

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Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[11]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting: Group	Bear Hunting: Location of Hut	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Group	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Location of Deer-Fence	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Group	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Location of Hut	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Location of Weir	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Location of Hut	Bag-Net Fishing Group
No. 1	Shiokoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 3 Daughters	(B)	Tonukariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannaksahoro Shinomansahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow, Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42].

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House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
				Tributary	
		Group	Location of Hut	Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer 224
hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was 476
generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch.

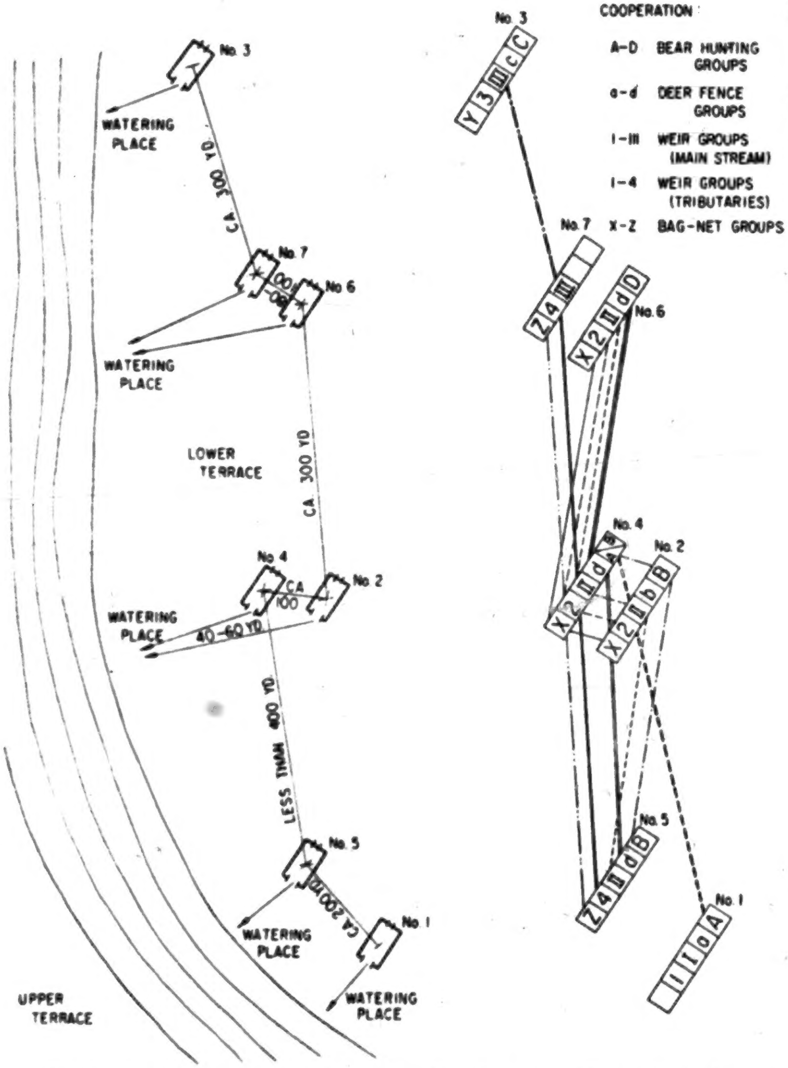
In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the 226
chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took 476
to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which [462]
were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[1] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[43][3], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
438 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4,[Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]


No. 3
WATERING PLACE
CA. 300 YD.
No. 7
No. 6
100
WATERING PLACE
LOWER TERRACE
CA. 300 YD
No. 4
No. 2
CA 100
WATERING PLACE
40-60 YD
LESS THAN 400 YD.
No. 5
CA 200 YD
No. 1
WATERING PLACE
WATERING PLACE
UPPER TERRACE
No. 3
Y 3 III c C
No. 7
Z 4 III
X 2 II d D
No. 6
No. 4
X 2 II d A
No. 2
X 2 II b B
No. 5
Z 4 II d B
No. 1
I I a A
COOPERATION:
A-D BEAR HUNTING GROUPS
a-d DEER FENCE GROUPS
I-III WEIR GROUPS (MAIN STREAM)
1-4 WEIR GROUPS (TRIBUTARIES)
X-Z BAG-NET GROUPS

476
224
226
361

Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no
outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources.
423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon
619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission
[628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such
permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group
(p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus, some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, 226
a local group on the Shikaripet tributary of the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon 311
in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there 628
was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sarunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the 224
foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the 311
groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45) on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group: such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group, from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

619 628 423 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 224 628 423 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were integrated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, observed a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand.
619 628 423 [226] As regards fishing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shiipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[62].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 796
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
● 226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was
regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[63]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and Habitat.

619
423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu*
of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e.
the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river
basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no
access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going
through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim
to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but
423 also by their cosmological system as such.

226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
[628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual
for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he
would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived
near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of
the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have
been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group,
permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and
private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same
river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a
custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission,
every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case,
part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or
hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that
[685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the
local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evid-
ence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.

241

177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[101]

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically
no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed.,
1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers
called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi
to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper
Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found
even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme
launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi
Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure
and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited
in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have
been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment 648
at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on
native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after
its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was
held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi
in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one
else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for
women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively
short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually
lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41,
Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing [465]
coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton
fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The 000

175 71 With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at
smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to
Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some
of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually
settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except
for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*,
coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupa-
tion for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not
by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATU-
URA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description
about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river
courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the de-
velopment of this district under Japanese management that the natives came
to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed. 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems
almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only
secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-
fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior
kimun kotan Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

[p. 121]

III

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup*; however, it has not been verified yet ~~in any~~ other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawn-
221 ing in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO,
136 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing
season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al.,
1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA,
1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August,
while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December
(MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable infor-
mation is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September
(ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the
[127] middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 sea-
son the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884
season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were
136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or
arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in
rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

226 221 (29) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months; *urepok chup, shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (Mihara et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (Sano and Nagasawa, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers [136] "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioned and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (Hagihara, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(30) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torch-lights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month 136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep* [825] in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by Batchelor. The *meuren chep* and *mat chep* referred to by him shows every indication of

indentity with our variety. He writes: "Meuren-chep, n. Silver salmon. Same as Mat-chep" (BATCHELOR, 1926, p. 283); "Mat-chep, n. Silver salmon. Oncorhyynchus kisutch (Walb)" (ibid., p. 278). The silver salmon, O. kisutch, also known as 'coho,' occurs in great quantity in the area extending from the North American coasts to Alaska, but it seldom appears in the territorial waters of Japan (ŌSHIMA, 1940, p. 249). It is a very rare species in Japan and has been caught only several times so far in the rivers of Hokkaido (HIKITA, 1956, p. 31). The *meorun chep* or *mata chep*, then, seems a different variety from the silver salmon but may be identified as the 'silvery salmon' on the following evidence. The *meorun chep* or *mata chep* was distinguished by the natives by its silvery colour as against the spawning colour appearing on the common dog-salmon, by its smaller size generally and its arrival with the cold season, that is, late in the period of dog salmon run. It will be seen that all these features are in agreement with those of the variety known in Japan as 'silvery salmon'. The latest researches indicate that the silvery salmon, or 'ginke-sake' as it is called in Japan, is also known as 'mejika', 'ginpika' or 'gira'; it arrives at the end of Oncorhynchus keta's runs in all the rivers in Hokkaido and other regions of Japan ascended by O. keta; the majority found are not full-grown but are fairly small-sized; it undergoes no change of colour for spawning but retains its silvery colour into maturity; finally, its arrival signifies the end of O. keta's runs (SANO, 1947, p. 43). Inference is made that the variety is of the same species as the common dog-salmon but that some physiological variation has brought out the apparent difference (ibid., p. 44). *Meorun chep* is regarded likewise by the Ainu as the same kind as "*shiipe kamuichep*" with the runs that precede it. In the river Chitose or Shikot today at least, the silvery salmon arrives each season mingling with the common dog-salmon and then gradually increases in number till it predominates at the end of the season (SANO, 1946, p. 40), though the ratio of mingling and the time of its appearance varies in different rivers (SANO, 1947, p. 41). For the other Hokkaido rivers no report is available; only it is informed that in the Tokapchi in ca. 1946 a fairly large amount of 'mejika' or silvery salmon were witnessed ascending during December and January in the area around the Chiyota salmon fishery. Such runs were known as "last catch"; but in recent years they have almost ceased to be seen (oral information obtained in 1959 from the Tokapchi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). 136

A case of night-spearing by torchlight employed for a specific species of salmon is found also among the Klallam Indians on the Northwest Coast of North America. The Indians use this method for silver salmon that run from October till December and not for dog-salmon and other species that run earlier (GUNTHER, 1927, pp. 198 and 201). No further details are made known. 226 171

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both 159 superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also 592 hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They 224 formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting 476 they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing [226] in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon [226] in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at [226] fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.

224 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
476 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting
226 experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 (42) Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.

224 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great
476 hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
[229] shikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunt- 159
ing group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. 592
As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only 224
man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, 476
when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his
wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun [226]
staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs
with them.

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the 226
Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* 184
(coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on 621
the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve [361]
of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a
shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and [628]
the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

(44) (1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in 136
early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

(2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a 423
division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of 621
sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156).

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop 423
and Nipushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the 621
spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens re- 226 ●
spectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream.

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must [431]
be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family.

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory,

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

423 621 226 *un ichan* (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50) In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51) The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

[J03]

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	,, ,,	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their
life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of
Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and
huchi of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion
as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out
by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after
finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the
traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962)
give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear
hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in
proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of
fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any,
on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
776 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits
182 attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to
have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division
and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology
of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area
where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[130] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the
[227] people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[296] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-
23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction
of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except
in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was
a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was
the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops
could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari
koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
[136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and
plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to
be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

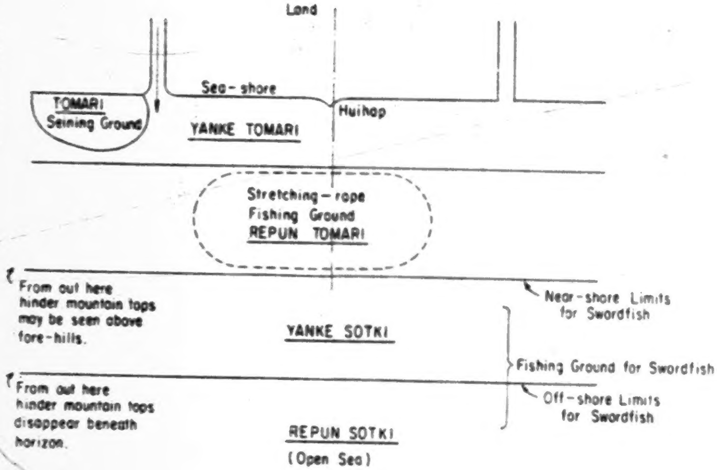
Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or
pishun kucha, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*',
while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in
cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond.
The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with
repun sotki kor kamui. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit
of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder
killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between
them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to
by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by
pishun utar, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother
to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu
fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of
several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*.
Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as
ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as
much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At
the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin
local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the
fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of
departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap*
fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would
come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the
high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu
became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

226


Land
Sea-shore
TOMARI
Seining Ground
YANKE TOMARI
Huihop
Stretching-rope
Fishing Ground
REPUN TOMARI
From out here hinder mountain tops may be seen above fore-hills.
YANKE SOTKI
Near-shore Limits for Swordfish
Fishing Ground for Swordfish
From out here hinder mountain tops disappear beneath horizon.
Off-shore Limits for Swordfish
REPUN SOTKI
(Open Sea)

226
796 The operation was carried out without their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

776 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a
823 river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by
[782] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when
[539] soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

O *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

O *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu (a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido), fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn [562] before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settle-[782]ment." (INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 [115] The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, 226
where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched 796
for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men [821]
visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream.

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach or[1] the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued[2] a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire-spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual. The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

(63) Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented 825
by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples 776
from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area). *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain.

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs 825
and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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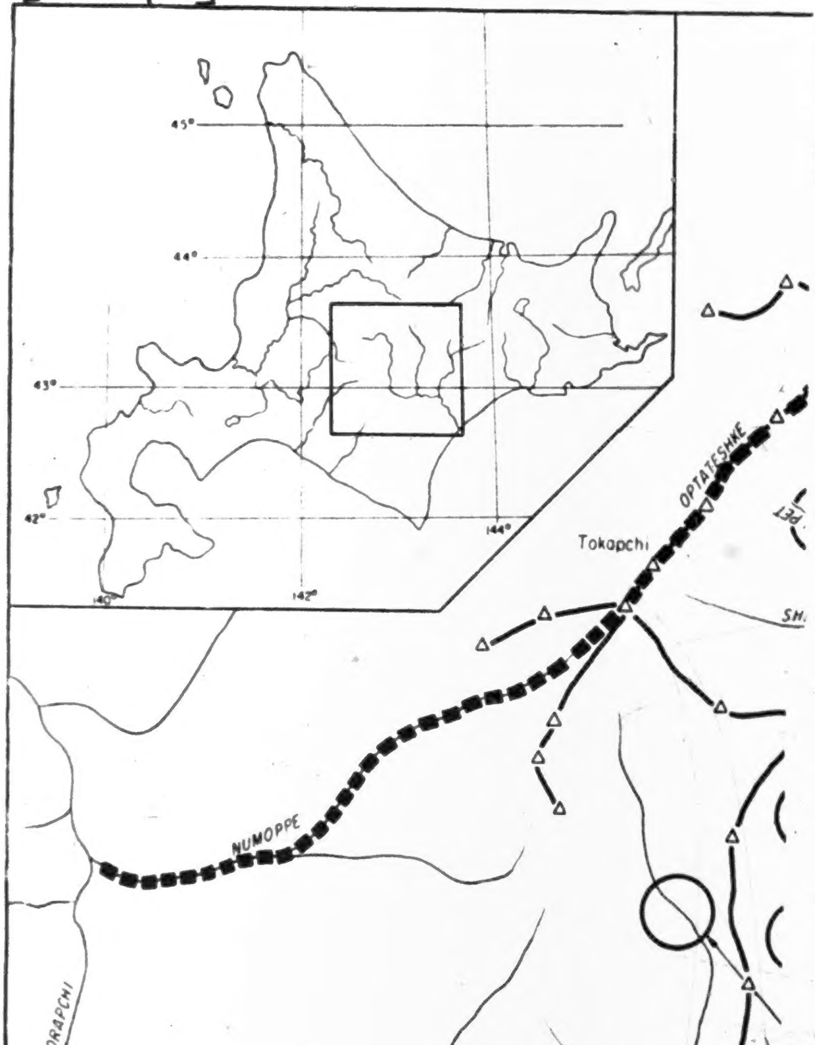
A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-A]


45°
44°
43°
42°
140°
142°
144°
Tokapchi
OPTATESHKE
NUMOPPE
SORAPCHI
NISHITAP
SORAPCHI
YUKTORASHI
SHI-SORAPCHI
SHI.
Sahoru

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103
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361
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226 ●

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-B]

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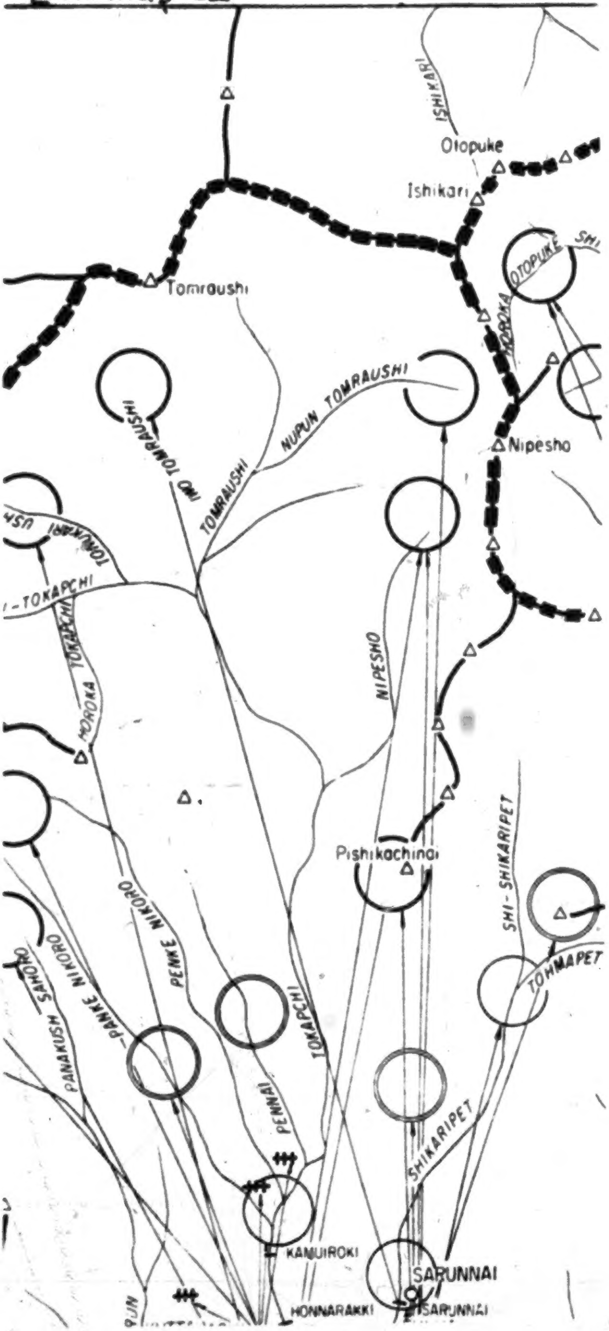
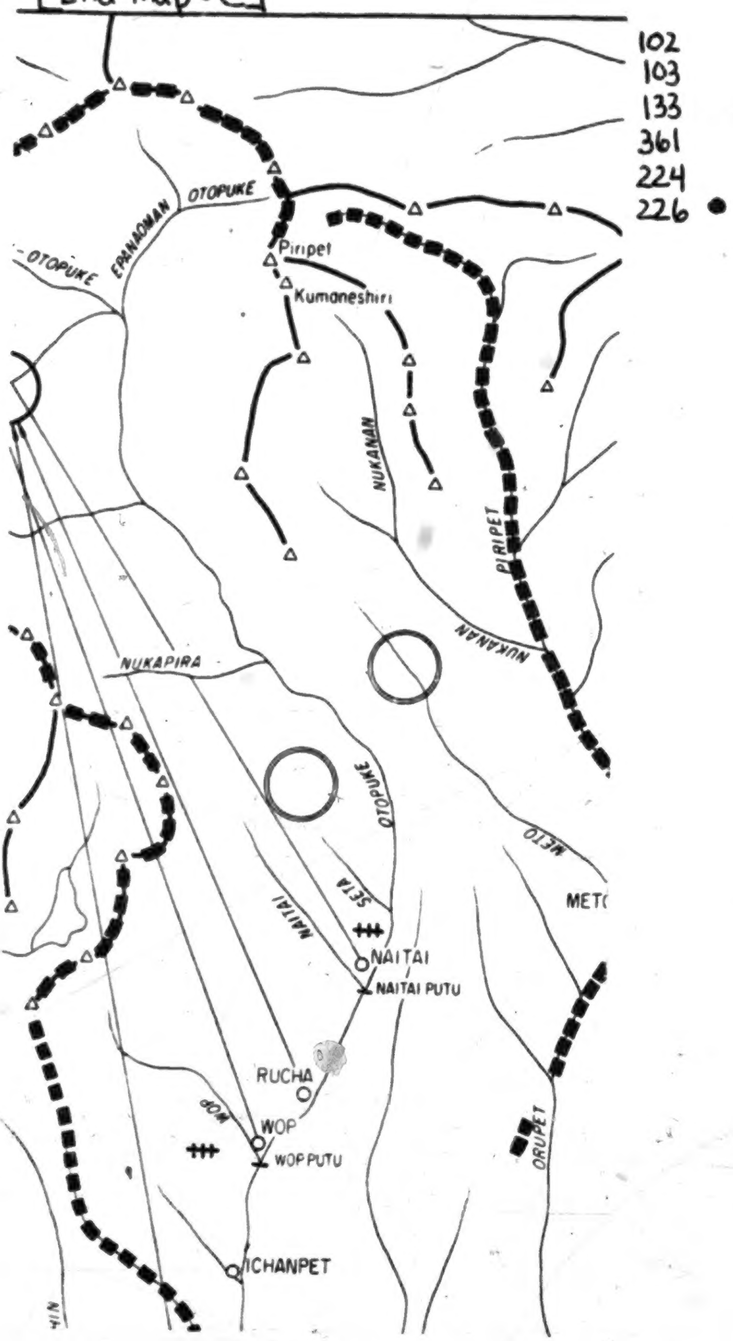
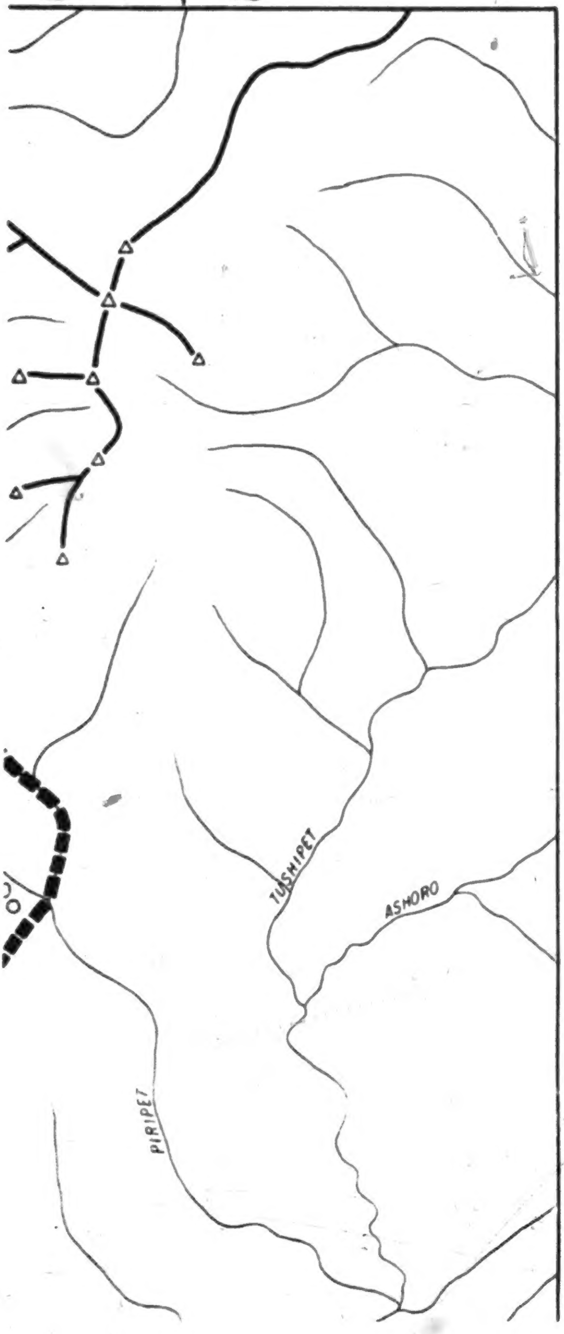

ISHIKARI
Otopuke
Ishikari
OTOPUKE
SHI
Tomraushi
HOROKA
NUPUN TOMRAUSHI
IWO TOMRAUSHI
TOMRAUSHI
Nipesho
USH
TOMRAUSHI
-TOKAPCHI
HOROKA TOKAPCHI
NIPESHO
Pishikachinai
SHI-SHIKARIPET
TOHMAPET
PANAKUSH SAHORO
PANKE NIKORO
PENKE NIKORO
TOKAPCHI
PENNAI
SHIKARIPET
KAMUIROKI
SARUNNAI
HONNARAKKI
SARUNNAI

[End map-C]


102
103
133
361
224
226 ●
OTOPUKE
EPANAOMAN
OTOPUKE
Piripet
Kumaneshiri
NUKANAN
PIRIPET
NUKANAN
NUKAPIRA
OTOPUKE
METO
SETA
NAITAI
MET
NAITAI
NAITAI PUTU
RUCHA
WOP
WOP
WOP PUTU
ORUPET
ICHANPET

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]


TUSHIPET
ASHORO
PIRIPET

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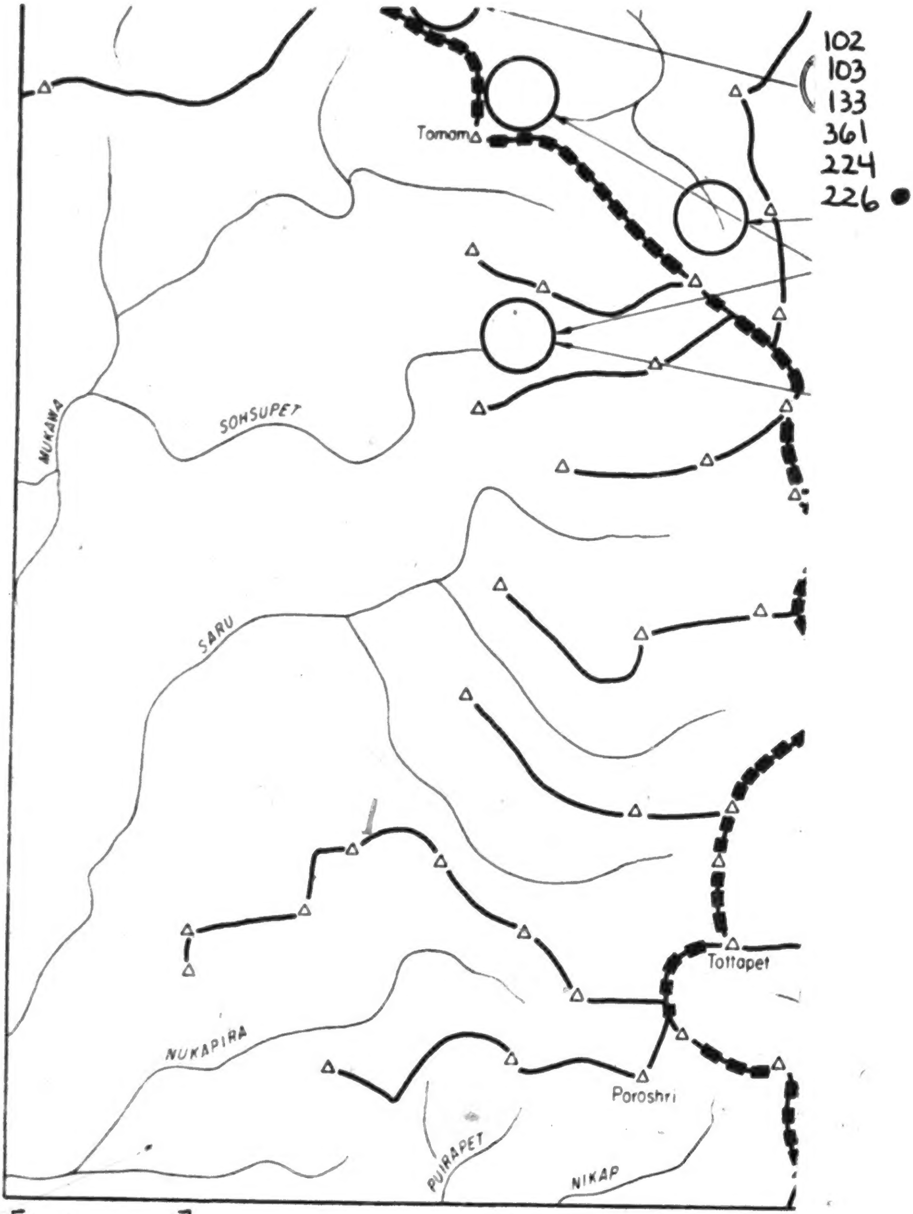
226 ●

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6


102
103
133
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224
226 ●
Tomam
MUKAWA
SOHSUPET
SARU
Tottapet
NUKAPIRA
Poroshri
PUIRAPET
NIKAP

[End map-E]

Map. 2.

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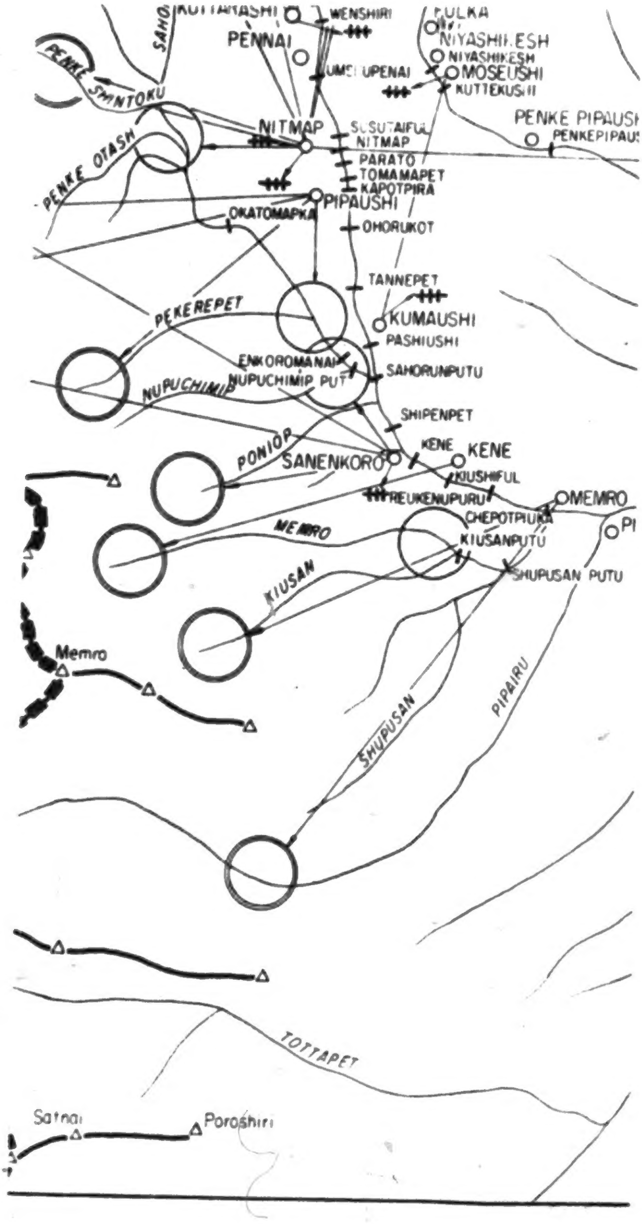
SAHO
KUTTARASHI
WENSHIRI
PULKA
NIYASHIKESH
NIYASHIKESH
MOSEUSHI
KUTTEKUSHI
PENNAI
UMSIUPENAI
PENKE
SHINTOKU
NITMAP
SUSUTAIFUL
NITMAP
PARATO
TOMAMAPET
KAPOTPIRA
PIPAUSHI
PENKE OTASH
PENKE PIPAUSH
PENKEPIPAUS
OKATOMAPKA
OHORUKOT
TANNEPET
KUMAUSHI
PASHIUSHI
PEKEREPET
ENKOROMANAI
NUPUCHIMIP PUT
SAHORUNPUTU
NUPUCHIMIP
SHIPENPET
PONIOP
SANENKORO
KENE
KENE
KIUSHIFUL
REUKENUPURU
MEMRO
CHEPOTPIUKA
PI
MEMRO
KIUSANPUTU
SHUPUSAN PUTU
KIUSAN
Memro
SHUPUSAN
PIPAIRU
TOTTAPET
Satnai
Poroshiri

Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

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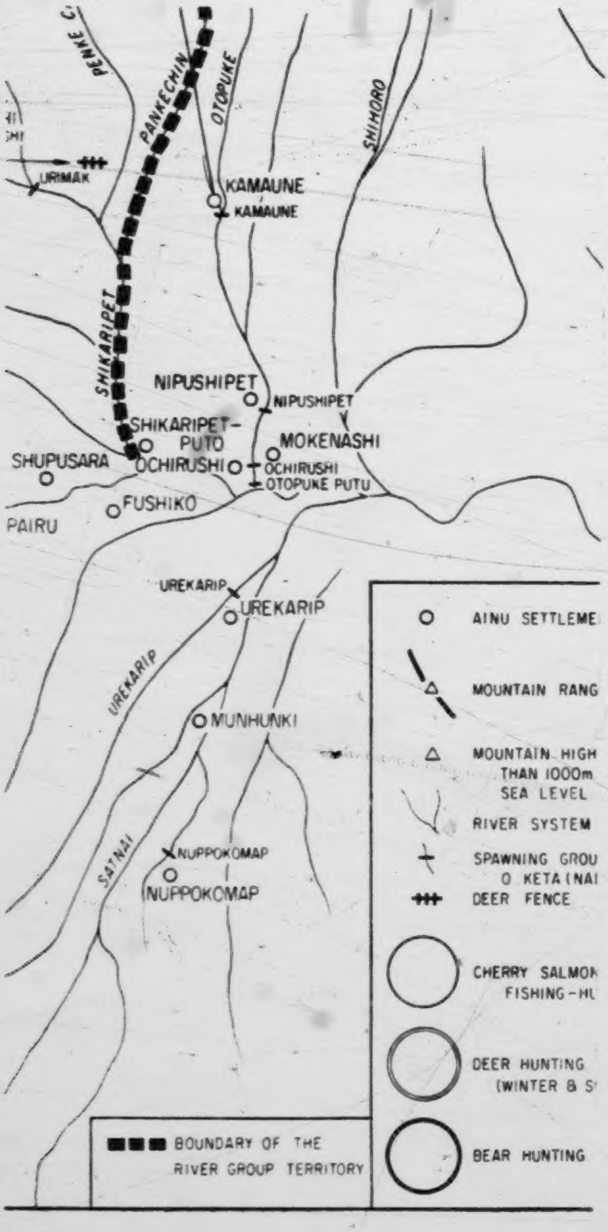
PENKE C
PANKECHIN
OTOPUKE
SHIMORO
URIMAK
KAMAUNE
KAMAUNE
SHIKARIPET
NIPUSHIPET
NIPUSHIPET
SHIKARIPET-PUTO
MOKENASHI
SHUPUSARA
OCHIRUSHI
OCHIRUSHI
OTOPUKE PUTU
FUSHIKO
PAIRU
UREKARIP
UREKARIP
UREKARIP
MUNHUNKI
SATNAI
NUPPOKOMAP
NUPPOKOMAP
AINU SETTLEME
MOUNTAIN RANG
MOUNTAIN HIGH THAN 1000m SEA LEVEL
RIVER SYSTEM
SPAWNING GROU O KETA (NAI
DEER FENCE
CHERRY SALMON FISHING-HU
DEER HUNTING (WINTER & S
BEAR HUNTING
BOUNDARY OF THE RIVER GROUP TERRITORY

er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) · 1964 AB6 Ainu ·AB6

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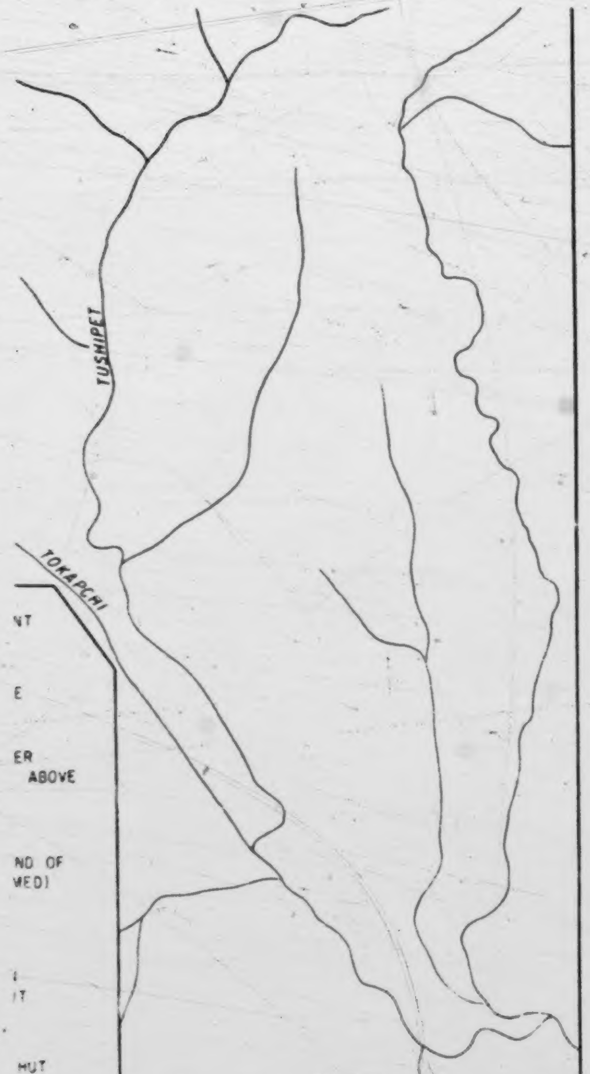
TUSHIPET
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[End map-H]

/453 cont./
361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
226 for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
262 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
[361] this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and
in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus,
which play the principal role, since, entering even the small
coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the
preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less
a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large
schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern
Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the
disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for
the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil
prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish
to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the
soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own
000 needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

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1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

[113] 2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of
[439] Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
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4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower
[133] animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

/453 cont./

● 226 262 [133] island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the */454/* warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called *achkoipa* by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and [526] holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

[113] 1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (*Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb.*, VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

2. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[113] 3. *San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes* /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

/454 cont./

● 226 177 Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the 000 Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

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4. See p. 674 ff. above.

226 171 113 5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.